

A
L E T T E R

T O T H E

E----- of S-----r, &c.

[Price Six-pence.]

~~Suppl of 8132.6~~

LETTER

TO THE

Board of Directors

of the

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
E— of S—r; K

In which are examined

The Conduct of our several Ministries
with respect to the Ballance of Power
in *Europe*, the Necessity of supporting
the House of *Austria*, and prescribing
Bounds to the Power of *France*.

T O G E T H E R W I T H

Some O B S E R V A T I O N S on the Rise,
Conduct, and Progress of the present War,
the Behaviour of the Mercenaries, and the
personal Treatment of his L——p.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBINSON, at the *Golden Lion*,
in *Ludgate-Street*. M.DCC.XLIII.

A
LETTER

TO THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

In which are examined

The Conduct of our several Ministries
with respect to the Balance of Power
in Europe, the Necessity of supporting
the House of Austria, and prescribing
Limits to the Power of France.

84
TOGETHER WITH

10 11
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE RISE
AND FALL OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA
280
AND THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE MINISTERS
IN THE TREATY OF 1763.



L. O. V.

Printed by J. Baskin, at the Golden Lion,
in Newgate-Street, London.



A
 L E T T E R
 T O T H E
 E----- of S-----r.

My LORD,

YOUR known Respect for Truth, and that noble Zeal which you have always shewn in the Service of your Country, emboldened me to address your Lordship in relation to certain Points which have a strict Connection with both. There are certain Seasons in which Liberties like this, if they are not, strictly speaking, justifiable, are at least excusable. When the Cause of Truth, and the Welfare of a whole Nation depend upon the clearing up of particular Facts, the Explication of which can be only expected from a single
 B Person,

Person, there seems to be a sort of Right vested in every Man, who is a Lover of Truth and of his Country, to take any Method consistent with Justice and Good-manners, which may promote the Explication of such Facts. There is certainly a great Degree of Respect due to Persons of your high Rank, and a much greater to Persons of your distinguished Virtue; but there is at the same time so just a Sense of whatever may be conducive either to the publick Good or the publick Satisfaction in such generous Breasts as yours, that I cannot help flattering myself with the Hopes of Pardon even for this extraordinary, I had almost said extravagant Freedom.

It is very certain, that though we live in an Island, and have no great Reason to be apprehensive of Invasions from the Continent, yet it is and will be always the Interest of *Great Britain*, in respect both to her Commerce and her Freedom, to have a just Regard to what passes amongst her Neighbours. This Concern has been for the last Century much heightened by the direct Attempts of *France* to acquire, either by Force or Fraud, a universal Influence, if not a universal Monarchy. But, my Lord, it so happens, that this rational, this self-evident Doctrine has been often perverted by crafty and designing Men of all Parties. Your Lordship well remembers what a strange Turn was given to these Notions by the Tory Ministers in the four last Years of the late Queen. They endeavoured to persuade us, that the Ballance of Power was in as great Danger from the too great Weight of the House of *Austria*, as from the too extensive Influence of the House of *Bourbon*, and that in true Policy we were as much bound to prevent the

the one, as to withstand the other. Upon this Plan they made the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and thereby effectually established a Partition of the *Spanish* Dominions; for the very attempting of which, they impeached his Ministry, and censured in a very indecent Manner the Conduct of King *William*.

For this extraordinary Conduct that Ministry, and particularly the Lord High-Treasurer *Oxford*, deservedly suffered; and if ever any Doctrine received an explicit Condemnation in Parliament, this did so by that noble Lord's Impeachment. Yet it was not long after adopted even by those who procured and pressed that Impeachment, and the Pen of a learned Prelate, which had been formerly employed with great Success to shew the ill Consequences of the *Utrecht* Treaty, was employed in Defence of that very Scheme of Policy on which it was founded, as may be seen in his artful Apology for the *Hanover* Treaty, whereby we declared ourselves Friends to *France*, and Enemies to the House of *Austria*. Hence, my Lord, it was evident to all the World, that there is no true Virtue in Parties, but that Men devoted to them change their Principles as Interest directs them. By this Measure we gave up our Friends, and strengthened the Hands of our natural Enemies, which, as it has been justly observed in a certain Memorial, will always be attended with like Consequences, under whatever Reign, under whatever Ministry they are pursued.

Here give me leave to remark to your Lordship, how hardly the Nation has been used, Under the Earl of *Godolphin*'s Ministry, in the

Queen's Time, we spent near 66,000,000 in carrying on a War to support the House of *Austria*, and to reduce the Power of *France*. We have since under another Whig Ministry, and in consequence particularly of this Treaty of *Hanover*, been put to a vast Expence to humble the House of *Austria*, and to comply with the Views of *France*. Is not this surprizing, is not this absurd, is it not intolerable? Such Proceedings as these confound the Understandings, and sink the Spirits of a Nation; they make them lose by Degrees all Sense of Right and Wrong, or at least all hearty Concern for the former, all real Hatred to the latter. They fill them with Fears and Suspensions, incline them to doubt the Honesty of all Ministries, and by instilling a Notion that great Men have nothing in View but to facilitate their own Designs, by promoting what they assert to be for the publick Interest; and aggrandizing themselves and their Families, by means of the mighty Sums raised under Colour of the publick Service, extirpate all Rectitude of Heart.

At last it evidently appeared, that instead of the House of *Austria's* having either the Will or the Power to seize universal Monarchy, both remained in the Hands of their old Possessors the House of *Bourbon*; for in 1733, *Spain* and *France* attacked the Emperor by an open War, because he would not tamely submit to be ruined by an insidious Peace. Upon this Occasion our Parties in *England* changed Principles, the Tories declared for assisting the House of *Austria*, as we were bound to do by Treaties, and the Court Whigs asserted that we were not bound thereto by any Treaty, because the House of *Austria* had drawn this War upon herself; and it was, I think, al-
 ledged

ledged by some of the fine Speakers in those Days, that it did not become us to act like the *Don Quixots* of *Europe*, and to fall out in Arms, whenever a hot-headed Ally thought fit to run into a Quarrel. Your Lordship was then of a different Opinion, and indeed of the Opinion to which you have always adhered, as appears by the Scheme mentioned in the before-cited Memorial ; since if an Army had been formed on the *Moselle*, according to that Plan in 1734, it must, as is therein rightly observed, infallibly have made his present Majesty Arbiter of *Europe*, by putting a Stop to the rapid Progress of the *French* Arms, and consequently saving the noble Dutchy of *Lorrain* from being swallowed up by that ambitious Power, which had been so long watching for an Opportunity to devour it.

But we let slip that Opportunity, we suffered the House of *Austria* to be oppressed in *Italy*, and humbled in *Germany* ; and though we were solicited in the most moving Terms, yet we, I mean our Ministers, were absolutely deaf ; and all the Pretence they made use of to justify this Conduct, amounted to no more, than that the Circumstances of the Nation would not suffer us to enter into a War at that Time ; and that after all, the Thing might terminate in such a manner, as not to alter the Ballance of Power considerably, or so as to give us any reasonable Disturbance. But, my Lord, could it have been then foreseen that we were negotiating to no Purpose, and wasting vast Sums in a vain Expectation of getting rid of the Necessity of fighting ; whereas we only deferred it, and thereby made our own and the Condition of our Allies certainly much worse. I say, if we could have foreseen this,

this, there would not have been any Man so abandoned as to have supported Measures which sacrificed our Honour for the sake of momentary Ease, and by draining us of our Wealth, rendered us less able to struggle with those Difficulties, which the Consequences of these Measures brought upon us.

In those Days, my Lord, you were, where every honest Man ought to be, at the Plough, while those at the Helm were most evidently taking care of their own Interests at the Expence of ours. I would not willingly be thought a rash Accuser, but certainly, if we compare the Circumstances of some Men with those of the Nation, if we reflect on their Ease, their Opulence and their Luxury, their Furniture, Paintings, and Purchases, all out of the Savings of Employments, the Incomes of which all the World knew could not half maintain them. If, I say, we reflect on these, and on the Situation of our Country, in the mean Time loaded with Debts, and harrassed with Taxes, we must conclude that they took more Care of their private Fortunes, than of the publick Interest, and were infinitely more concerned to leave a large Estate, than an honourable Memory behind them. Yet in those Days it was penal to oppose these wise and worthy Personages; if a great Man did it, he was sent into Exile; and if a little Fellow had Sense enough to see, and Spirit enough to expose their Errors, a Prosecution did his Business. Yet now all the World agrees, that our late Statesmen were wrong, and their Opponents right. Sorry Comfort this to a Nation which had spent so many Millions to sustain the Pride, and fill the Pockets of these Blunderers. By this
strange

strange Conduct we ran out, and they grew immensely rich; and now when we are returned to our Wits, they sit snug at Home, and revel in Luxury, while we are pawning and running in Debt to prevent, if possible, the Consequences of their ill Conduct.

By the Death of the late Emperor, which we are told by the Author of *Faction detected*, was procured by *France*, who caused him to be poisoned; a Fact, I must confess, that I think he ought to have proved as well as asserted, a Way was open for a new War, into which our then Ministry seemed positive that *France* would not enter; but as they were seldom positive but in Things that were false, so here the *French* deceived them, and of a sudden, when we least expected it, all *Europe* in a manner was armed against us. When I say us, I mean, as your Lordship does, the House of *Austria*, for I sincerely think that the Weight of that House in Alliance with the Maritime Powers, is the only possible Ballance against the House of *Bourbon*. When Things were in this Situation, what did we do? Why, we visibly play'd the Fool, and increased our Misfortunes by endeavouring to be well on both Sides. We gave the Queen of *Hungary* a little Money, and we promised some to the King of *Sardinia*, but in such Proportions that it weakened us without strengthening them, at least in any Degree suitable to their Occasions. An unlucky Journey to *Hanover* then took place, which gave another Turn to our Conduct, which rendered a Neutrality for the Electorate necessary, as well as the giving a Vote for the present Emperor. A Measure fatal to the last Ministry, and yet
very

very foolishly defended by the sworn Advocate of the present ; foolish, I say, unless he is fallen into the common Opinion, that we ought to become a Province to that E——te, and regulate all our Measures by hers.

This single Step has embarrassed us ever since ; it encouraged the *French*, it gave the highest Satisfaction to the Emperor, at the same time that it alarmed the Queen of *Hungary*, astonished the King of *Sardinia*, and amazed the *Dutch*. No body any longer knew where to have us ; on this Side of the Water we were *Austrians*, on the other *Bavarians* ; we gave Assurances to the Queen of *Hungary*, we paid our Compliments to his Imperial Majesty, we made very fine Promises to both, and we did very little for either ; till by Degrees the *British* Spirit began to rise, and it was very visible that the Nation would be no longer bullied by her own Power, or bribed by her own Money. Then the Scene chang'd at once, and very evident it was, that nothing would satisfy the People but the Reformation of Abuses at Home, and the Recovery of our Honour Abroad ; both of which were Points so necessary, that even those who were bound in Interest to oppose them, confessed the Necessity, and insisted only that such a Reformation, and such a Recovery, were Things impossible ; they not only admitted that our Affairs were in a bad Way, but insisted that they were irrecoverable, and therefore since struggling could only put us to Pain, they very modestly proposed that we should yield to their Advice, and make use of Opiats that we might die easily ; but with much ado we got rid of these Empiricks, chiefly through the Zeal and Spirit of a great Man who is now no more, but whose

whose Memory will for ever live in every grateful, every honest Breast; who had been from his Youth a Patriot, and in this Instance was the Protector of his Country. He it was who brought about a true Coalition of Parties, not by fine Speeches, or from artful Views of making them subservient to his Purposes; he was, with the greatest Talents in the World, incapable of both. His Eloquence came less from the Head than the Heart, and he only spoke well in Consequence of his speaking sincerely. But this Eloquence had an Effect never to be produced by venal Oratory, it brought all Parties to depend upon him; he left the Whigs without uniting with the Tories, and so became a common Centre to both, he shewed them the Folly of contending for Notions which ought in their Nature to be obliterated; and he taught them to feel for their Country that honest Sense of Shame and Concern which could alone conduce to her Recovery. Such was the Nature of that late Coalition, by which the great Sorcerer's Charms were dissolved, the Effects of Influence dispelled, and the Nation set free. Upon which, my Lord, you were recalled from the Plough, and the Times wore so honest a Face, that you were no longer ashamed of appearing in Publick, or afraid of being put to the Blush by accepting a Post of Eminence. All the World knows, all the World must remember it to your Honour, that upon your coming to Town, and entering into Employment, we were believed to be in Earnest, and it is scarce in the Power of Words to express how much the Spirits of the People were raised at home, when they heard that you were received like another *Marlborough* abroad.

We were then in Hopes of seeing that Plan which you had formed on M. *Mallebois* marching into *Bobemia* executed, and the Army of the Allies actually at the Gates of *Paris*. It is true, I must confess, that the Friends of the old Administration laughed at this, and treated People as Madmen, who thought that the same Roads would bring *English* and *Dutch* Troops to *Paris*, by which the *French* Guards marched from thence; but we who knew that it was not Ambition or the Hopes of raising your Fortune, that could engage you to quit your Retirement, but that the Hopes of being useful to the Publick, was the sole Motive that drew you from thence; we who were sensible that you not only served under two of the greatest Generals of their Time, but were also in their Confidence and Favour, entrusted with their Plans, and often with the Execution of them, and were moreover not quite forgetful of your having actually made an Essay of this Kind, wherein you succeeded wonderfully, and would have done still more, if some Mercenaries under your Command had not sacrificed themselves by disobeying your Orders; we, I say, who have turned over all these Things in our Minds, not only hoped, but expected better Things, believing every thing to be what we saw it, that our Ministers were become new Men, and that they would pursue steadily new Measures, those Measures which had raised them not only to Power and Grandeur, but what was infinitely more eligible, to be the Delight of their Countrymen, and Admiration of all *Europe*.

But this glorious Prospect did not continue long, Things went on slowly, a new and unexpected

pected Coalition had taken place, from which sprung up Jealousies at Home, and I doubt Distrusts Abroad. We were a long time told that a Body of 16,000 *Saxons* in our Pay, were to join the Army of the Allies, and to act for the common Cause; this indeed would have been a glorious Measure, it must have fixed a wavering Court on the right Side, it would have put a bold enterprizing, shall I add unaccountable Prince, between two Fires, the only Way perhaps to restrain him; it would have secured the Neutrality in *Italy*, much more effectual than a second Visit from Commodore *Martin*, and, which is much more to the Purpose than all the rest, it would have left it in the Power of the Electorate to have made Amends for the Neutrality, by bringing a numerous Body of Troops into the Field, in the most honourable Way; but our Hopes were defeated, our Expectations baulked; instead of 16,000 *Saxons*, we had 16,000 Mercenaries of another Sort; they are so well known, that I need not name them.

The great Dispute here at Home before the Campaign began, was grounded upon a Doubt which seemed to be very just and reasonable, and that was, whether the Subjects of *German* Princes would act against the Emperor; but when our Army marched directly towards *Francfort*, People, who were in that Way of thinking before, gave the Point up, and imagined that when the Diet was set free, something would be done there to obviate that Objection for ever. This I can affirm to you for a Certainty, that whatever may be now said, all the Parties in *Britain*, at that Juncture, were entirely and heartily united in the Approbation of vigorous Measures; and I am

fully persuaded, that many repented of their Opposition, from an Apprehension that they were misled, and that we were now to act in Earnest. This appeared more and more probable, when M. *Broglie* was beaten from his Posts in *Bavaria*; there seemed to be then such a Prospect of humbling *France* and all her Allies, that it was thought impossible it should slip out of our Hands, considering especially how much it was every Body's Business there to improve it. For, besides your Lordship, whose Sincerity I believe your very Enemies never doubted, there was a Minister upon the Spot who boasted that this was his own Scheme, and that he went thither to see it effectually executed. From these Considerations the Spirits of the People rose very high, and what followed contributed to raise them still higher, and to convert all their Hopes and Expectations into Certainties.

The first Accounts of the Battle of *Dettingen*, imperfect as they were, gave us Hopes of a complete Victory. We were indeed a little astonished that you had not the least Share in it; for in those Accounts I think your Name is not so much as mentioned. But the foreign Accounts and private Letters soon set us right in that Particular, and we had the Satisfaction to find that the Disposition was entirely made by the *British* Field-Marshal, and almost wholly executed by the *British* and *Austrian* Forces; we were also not a little pleased to hear that M. *Noailles* was convinced of his Mistake, and did so much Justice to our Countrymen, as to own, That the *English* would be *English* always: By which he did in a manner confess that our Troops, even in their first Campaign, were more than a Match for

for the *French*, though ever so well disciplined. We were a little chagrined however at some Circumstances that fell out afterwards, such as that our Soldiers were without Bread, their Horses without Forage; and that after such a Victory, the Slain and Wounded were left to the Compassion of the Enemy. These Things did really astonish us, and I dare say you will not wonder at it. But notwithstanding all this, every body remain'd very well pleased with the Success of our Arms, and such as endeavoured to discredit them, were treated with the Contempt they deserved.

It was indeed a little wonderful that we had not larger and more authentick Relations of so signal an Engagement; for by comparing the different Accounts published abroad, it appears evidently that the *French* suffered much more than we at first imagined; and then we have been yet told they did by any Writer on this Side of the Water: But from what has passed since, we discern well enough, or at least we think we discern the Reason. If the Loss of the *French* had been clearly made known, together with the Terror and Confusion they were certainly in immediately after the Loss of that Battle, it must have raised our Wonder excessively that our Success was not improved, that we did not follow our Blow, and absolutely destroy an Army already more than half vanquished by their own Apprehensions. Those who did not approve such warm Measures, had no great Reason to make us acquainted with such Particulars as were least likely to make us relish their cool ones. But now that by the Assistance of Time we have discovered all, and are thoroughly satisfied that the *French* did not lose fewer than 7 or 8000 Men by that Battle,
and

and its Consequences, and we have had Leisure to reflect on the mighty Impression that might have been made upon People in such Circumstances, we cannot reconcile the letting them slip, to that Eagerness for War, that loud Profession of having nothing so much in View as humbling the Power of *France*, by giving a Check to her Arms, which was expressed by some People before they had this Opportunity given them. While we were in the Dark, it was easy for us to fall into Mistakes about the Causes, or rather the Causers of this Slowness and Inactivity. Now indeed we are a little wiser, and though it is still out of our Reach to name the Authors of these Measures, we can at least say who was not the Author of them, since this appears clearly from the following Paragraphs in the before-cited Memorial.

“ I shall not take notice of what happened during the Action; your M— knows that my
 “ Opinion was, that, without losing any Time,
 “ we should make all the Advantage we could
 “ of the Victory we had gained. When the Army
 “ arrived at *Hanau*, I proposed to seize on
 “ *Hoeckst*, and lay a Bridge over the *Mayne* to
 “ pass that River, and to post our Army in such
 “ a manner as to hinder the Enemy from getting
 “ back over the *Rhine*, which, from what had
 “ had passed on the Side of the *Danube*, I judg’d
 “ would soon happen. I pressed the same Advice
 “ with your M—, by the means of General
 “ *Ligonier*. I am utterly ignorant how it came
 “ to pass that it was not followed.

“ I proposed afterwards to lay Bridges over
 “ the *Mayne* on the Side of *Hanau*, that thereby
 “ we might be in a Condition to make all possible
 “ ble

“ ble Advantages of the Enemies Conduct, in
 “ case they should think fit to quit the River.

“ This being over, I told your M— there
 “ was still one only Means left of your maintain-
 “ ing your Superiority over the *French*, viz. to
 “ embark all the Foot, to send them down the
 “ *Rhine*, and march them with all possible Ex-
 “ pedition towards *Flanders*; I cannot still help
 “ repeating the same Advice.”

There is no denying now that active Counsels were given, which was what we did not, could not know before, at least not with Certainty. But there is one thing yet unknown, which is, who opposed those Counsels, and what Arguments were used to shew they were unreasonable; this, I say, the Publick does not yet know, and in all human Probability never will; though, most certainly, if it was intended to satisfy the Minds of People here, and to keep up that Spirit which must be kept up in order, under all the Difficulties we struggle with, to carry on the War with Vigour, they should have been explained, copiously explained, and so strongly inforced, as that every Man of common Sense might have conceived, and been convinced by them. It is easy, my Lord, to guess at the little Evasions that may be thrown out to be rid of this Subject, such as that the Secrets of State and of War, are not to be divulged, that there are Times and Seasons proper for all Things, that the People are not fit Judges of Things of this Nature, and that it is not Indecent only, but a kind of Treason to assert they are. But your Lordship must be sensible, that were it proper, conclusive Answers might be given to all these Suggestions. I will hint but at one, the People defray the Expences of Wars, and it is hard they should not know for what they pay.

pay. In other Countries this Reasoning would not be right, for there, though the People pay, they pay whether they will or not; but this, my Lord, is not, blessed be God, our Case—yet.

But, my Lord, this was not all; vigorous Measures met not only with a deaf Ear, but those who proposed them were visibly and sensibly discouraged, which shewed that this Advice was not only disliked, but was not to be endured, and that whoever gave it, was considered as a Person opposite in his Sentiments to the reigning System. All this, my Lord, I gather from the following Passage in the same Memorial, which to me is the strongest, clearest, and most unanswerable Proof that this Fact will admit of; and I make no manner of Doubt, that whoever reads this Passage will think of it exactly as I do.

“ I have received several Marks of Contempt
 “ for my Advices, even in the View of the whole
 “ Army, particularly of the *English* Troops.
 “ Posts of Command that became vacant, and
 “ which used to be disposed of by the Recommendation of the Commander in chief, were
 “ given away without my Knowledge, and some
 “ particular Generals have been named to command at the Head of the Line, whilst I was
 “ there present.”

Your Lordship may possibly think I lay too great a Stress upon this Paper, which is not only unsigned and unowned, but which has even been disavowed and declared of no Authority in the Publick News Papers. But, my Lord, what Credit, what Authority, can this Declaration have; it is as much unavowed as the Memorial,
 and

and stand visibly upon a worse Foundation. For that some Memorial there was, is a Thing agreed on all Hands; and it is likewise acknowledged, that the Facts laid down in that Memorial, were the very same that we find in this; so that at last the Dispute may turn upon the Want of some Paragraph of Form at the Beginning or Conclusion, or upon the right Version of some *French* Phrase into *English*, which in Matters of this Nature I take to be of little or no Consequence. Besides, my Lord, it cannot be conceived that a Nobleman of great Parts, most steadily attached to the present royal Family, and who besides these singular Qualifications, has another more rare perhaps than either, I mean an absolute Contempt of Post or Profit, when not attended with Honour. It is, my Lord, I say, impossible to conceive that such a Nobleman should resign, but from Motives agreeable to his Character; and therefore the Facts before-mentioned are extremely probable, even independant of the Memorial, which, however, I am far from giving up.

But, my Lord, I will now return to the Point from which I digressed. These and many other Facts, equally undeniable, fully prove that the System so much insisted upon before the Campaign began was changed, and that, instead of a brisk and vigorous War, which might before the End of Winter have answered our Purpose, by giving absolutely a new Turn to Things in *Germany*, and obliging *France* to submit to just and honourable Terms, the Business in the Field was to be converted into a long, lingering, and inactive Method, which must produce Discouragements abroad, as well as entail many and great Difficulties upon us at home. This was what the Friends of the House

D

of

of *Austria* here dreaded, and what such as opposed the War for the Support of that House actually foretold. It is easy, therefore, to see that in consequence of this Change of Measures in the Field, there must follow unavoidably many and great Obstructions, if not an absolute Change of Measures elsewhere, which must be extremely disagreeable to all the Friends of Liberty and Independency, all who wish well to the Reduction of *French* Power, and the restoring the Ballance of *Europe*; I mean the Things themselves, and not the empty Sounds, and amongst them to your Lordship, whom all the World allows to be as heartily a Friend to these, as to the Protestant Succession, and the Welfare of your native Country.

In a Memorial lately presented to the States, the Authenticity of which I think was never called in question, their High Mightinesses are encouraged to prosecute the same warm and vigorous Measures which they took so unexpectedly, and from the taking of which many good Consequences were rationally hoped. I sincerely wish, as every honest Man must, that they will follow the Advice given them in that Memorial, which, as is hinted therein, will be the most likely, indeed the only Method, for preventing a new War from breaking out in *Germany*, more dangerous and more to be dreaded than the former. But this, in all Probability, will in a great Measure depend upon the Sentiments of another Nation, and their Resolution to persist in the same vigorous Measure; for otherwise we cannot with common Sense expect such a Behaviour from the *Dutch*. We are too apt to accuse them of Tardiness and Timidity; but they have suffered so greatly from
the

the Inconstancy and Inconsistency of some of their Allies, that instead of condemning, their Wariness ought to be applauded, since the first Principle in every Government, is that which is the Basis of the Law of Nature, I mean Self-Preservation.

There is an Opinion prevails pretty much in the World, and perhaps your Lordship will be surprized to hear it said that it prevails without Reason ; I mean, that a great Part of this Nation, and particularly those Sort of People called Tories, are declared Enemies to a War abroad on any account, and no great Friends to foreign Alliances, or in short to our taking any great Share in the Affairs of the Continent. But, my Lord, whoever considers the Reasons these People alledge, when they are charged with these unreasonable and absurd Opinions, will easily discern that they are grossly injured, and that those very Men who pretend to be most concerned for our making a Figure abroad, have rendered it impracticable by their Haughtiness and ill Management at home. For, my Lord, this is certain, whatever self-seeking and designing Men may say, that while we are a divided and distracted Nation, it is impossible we should be good Friends or good Allies to our Neighbours, act steadily with them in time of War, or maintain our Credit while we continue in Peace. Wherever Parties are, there will be Struggles, and wherever there are Struggles, a constant Vicissitude of Fortune ; for in all Party Disputes, the Vanquished soon become Victors, and the Victors are vanquished in their Turn ; this prevents all Uniformity in Councils, and makes our Politics more variable than the Weather.

As this Doctrine is agreeable to Reason, so your Lordship very well knows it is supported by Experience. The War we carried on in King *William's* time, was both necessary and honourable; necessary, because *France* maintained the Cause of a Monarch we had expelled; and honourable, since we fought for the Security not of our own Liberties only, but of those of all *Europe*, which that ambitious Power sought to overturn. Yet in that War it is well known there was a great Partiality shewn in favour of the *Dutch*, which had such an Effect on the Minds of the *English*, that they gave frequent Instances of their Uneasiness and Discontent. In the Year 1690, the Earl of *Torrington* was said to desert the *Dutch* in a Sea Fight; and though the Tories had always hated that noble Lord who commanded the Fleet, which brought about the Revolution; yet upon this Occasion they defended him so well, and at the same time he was so effectually supported by his personal Friends, that all Attempts for an Impeachment proved vain, and he was even acquitted by a Court Martial, at the rising of which, as his Commission was not as yet taken away, he had the Indiscretion to hoist the *English* Flag on board his Barge by way of Triumph.

The *Dutch* returned us the Compliment afterwards on Shore, and in a certain Battle in *Flanders* left a Brigade of *English* Foot to be cut to Pieces in the Sight of their Prince, who could afford them no other Succour than saying, with a Sigh, *O my brave English!* But he shewed his Repentment sufficiently, by not speaking to his Cousin Count *Solms*, who was thought to be the Author of that base Action, to the Day of his Death.

Death. All the World knows how far the Parliament entered into the Prejudices of their Countrymen, and in how rude a Manner they forced from his Majesty his Blue Guards, who had been near his Person from his Cradle. It is also well enough known, that the greatest of our Generals shewed himself in these Sort of Disputes a true Lover of *Old England*, which sometimes drew upon him the Frowns of the Court. All the unlucky Accidents of that War, flowed evidently from this Source. In one Respect however we were happy, if his Majesty had no Reason to boast of his Success in the Field, he with Justice might claim the Reputation of triumphing over *France* in the Cabinet, by making such a Peace after his Defeats, as would have been esteemed the full Reward of Victory.

It is a Truth which all the World knows and remembers, that Queen *Anne* began her Reign with a broad-bottomed Ministry, in which little or no Respect was had to Party; and your Lordship cannot but know what an Effect this had upon the War; Supplies were given chearfully; the only Struggle in and out of Parliament was, who should serve their Queen and Country with the greatest Zeal. The *English* were then the first Nation in *Europe*, their Countryman the Duke of *Marlborough* commanded the whole confederate Army, not in Shew but in Effect; and how he commanded it, no body knows better than your Lordship. Most certain it is, that he asserted the Honour of his Country upon all Occasions; and as the Nation fulfilled her Engagements punctually, so the General took care that the Mercenaries in her Pay should do their Duty; he was never imposed upon in Contracts, or frightened in-

to

to mean Compliances from distant Prospects. He acted as became a Person of his Rank, and shewed an equal Concern for his own Honour and that of his Nation.

But as all Things have their Periods, so by Degrees the Administration at home came to stand upon a narrow Bottom. A few People came to think that they ought to have the Direction of the Queen, the Parliament, and all *Europe*; and upon this Principle they made Attachment to them the sole Criterion of Merit, they put in, and put out as they thought fit, took care of one Part of the War, and neglected another, which was that very Part out of regard to which the War was commenced; and having declared themselves, and brought the Queen to declare that no Tory was to expect Favour under her Government, they brought the Tories universally into a Dislike of the War, and brought their own Management under so strict an Examination, as perhaps no Management could ever bear. This produced a thousand little Discoveries, which though trivial in themselves, served to irritate the People, and to incline them to favour those in the Opposition, who declared, as most Oppositions do, for a broad Bottom, and an utter Extinction of Parties, a Thing which the honest Men of this Nation will always desire; and permit me to add, I hope will sometime or other obtain, since it plainly appears, from this Deduction of Facts, that Party Government can never do us good, but must everlastingly tend to the Ruin of the best Projects, and to the Increase of our Debts and Taxes, from which nothing but Concord and Unanimity can ever relieve us. And yet, my Lord, if we are not relieved, how is it possible
for

For us to make the Figure we have done, how shall we be able to support the Credit of this Nation abroad, and at the same Time preserve Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity at home. These however are Things that must be always jointly considered; for as it is at all Times fit and requisite to assist our Allies, and to do our utmost in the common Cause; so it is no less incumbent upon us to take care of ourselves, and to have such a Regard to the Manufactures and Commerce of this Nation, as may enable us to maintain such Wars as we may think it reasonable to wage.

Amongst these all just and reasonable Men will most readily admit the Support of the House of *Austria* to be one, and I must confess it appeared to me an Omen of glorious Times, that all Parties agreed in applauding the Speech made by our last Ambassador extraordinary to the States General, when he opened to them his Commission, and the several Memorials he presented afterwards. This looked as if a right Spirit was reviving amongst us, and that Men of all Opinions had thrown by their old Prejudices, and were determined to concur in restraining the bold Progress of our ambitious Neighbour, at the Expence of our old natural and necessary Allies. And this Spirit no doubt would have revived, and produced Effects worthy of it, if Party Politics had not prevailed again, and brought back all the Doubts and Dissondencies from which the Nation had so lately recovered, with the Addition of new Apprehensions, that as we had hitherto been degraded by corrupt Influence at home, we should now see our Interest sacrificed to a very paltry Concern abroad. This it was, your Lordship loves to hear Truth, and therefore I speak it, that blew out the Flame
of

of publick Spirit, and fanned the dying Embers of popular Discontent.

The Succour of the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Support of the House of *Austria*, from being Topicks generally approved, came to be Pretences as generally suspected, and suspected not altogether without Reason. Such as shewed the greatest Zeal for the Support of them, discovered manifestly a Zeal without Knowledge. They talked of restoring the House of *Austria* to its antient Glory, of making her as formidable as ever, and of reducing *France* within her antient Bounds. This, my Lord, I says was suspected, because though the Expressions were full and round upon the Ear, they had in them nevertheless something that was not to be understood. All the World knew that the House of *Austria* stood formerly possessed of the Imperial Diadem, and of the rich Country of *Silesia*; and all the World knew how far we had contributed to the Loss of both; whence it seemed utterly unintelligible, that we should, in so short a Time, change our Mind, and resolve to restore her both. It was thought more reasonable, more honest, and at the same time more agreeable to her Interest and to ours, to talk in moderate Terms, and to undertake no more than we might probably perform; to the Performance of which we were tied by Treaties, and in performing of which we might reasonably hope for Allies, and be in no Danger of provoking Enemies.

A War in *Germany* to be carried on by a confederate Army, and to be carried on vigorously for the Ruin of the *French*, and of their Influence, had a plausible Appearance; and all who had a
true

true Notion of the Interest of *Europe*, would have been glad to see the Pride of that Nation humbled at a Stroke, as it might have been by the Defeat of M. *Noailles*. For if we had acted as vigorously, and with the same generous Spirit which the old Confederacy express'd, we might undoubtedly have fallen upon *Noailles*, while *Broglio* was entangled in *Bavaria*; and one Blow of this Sort had put us almost in as good a Condition as we were in at the End of the last general War; so that there was nothing visionary, supposing us in earnest, in proposing to begin and close the War in the same Campaign. It is not therefore at all strange, that Measures which had so fair an Appearance, were approved of by a considerable Majority. We are naturally inclined to hope the best, and there is no Nation in *Europe* more willing than we to forget past Mis-carriages, and to trust the Great afresh upon their making fair Promises. I must crave leave to add, that even the Opposition given to these Measures, was not at all displeasing to such as wished them well, and knew what they wished, because they believed, and very rationally too, that what had been suggested, would spur those who had the Direction of Affairs on, and oblige them to act vigorously, and keep their Words out of Shame, at least, if not upon a Principle of Sincerity.

This, my Lord, I say, was the State Things were in at the rising of the last Session of Parliament, when, beyond all question, the present Ministry had as much or more immediately in their Power, than any Ministry almost that we can remember. They had nothing to do but to keep their Words, which whatever ill-informed People may think to the contrary, is as much the Duty, nay as frequently the Interest of the Statesman as

E

the

the Trader. Credit is not more necessary to a Copartnership in Commerce, than to the Governors of a Nation ; where it is wanting in the former, Business goes on heavily, and when not found in the latter it goes heavily too. A brisk March towards the *Maine*, a Battle fought and prosecuted with Spirit, a frank and explicate Declaration to the Emperor, a zealous, gallant, and grateful Behaviour in our Mercenaries, had done Honour to Men in Power, extinguished former Prejudices against Renegado's of all Sorts, and abolished our Distaste to our *German* Half-brethren for ever. This had fixed every honest, well-meaning, sensible Man in the Kingdom to the Measures of the Administration, would have lighten'd Taxes, made us easy under Debts, reconciled us (so long as it was necessary) to a foreign War, and established that Spirit of Loyalty once more in our Breasts, which was the Source of so much Glory to our Ancestors.

It would have thrown, on the other hand, such a Load of Obloquy on the Opposition, as must have sunk it. What had become then of their Insinuation, that those who appeared warmest in the Cause of the House of *Austria*, had their own Families more in View? What could have been alledged to colour the insulting Stories they told us of *H--n--r*, and *H--n--v--ns*? By what Methods would they have shut them out of our Service this Year? In which Way would they have shaped an Opposition to a *French* War, in case *France* had declared against us for running in this single Instance into a Practice contrary to hers, *viz.* that of fulfilling Treaties? In short, what under such Circumstances could they have said at all, or what must have become of them if they continued silent?

lent? we may easily guess. But immediately after the Campaign begun, they were constantly exhorting us to Attention, begging us to advert to their Predictions, and insisting that all their Prophecies were fulfilled. To this the Nation in general turned at first a deaf Ear, the Campaign opened with such an Air of fighting, that ministerial System grew popular, and those who insinuated any Sort of Jealousies, were treated with Contempt.

But subsequent Transactions have shewn, that what the Opposition threw out, was far from being destitute of Foundation. We have indeed seen the Queen of *Hungary* restored to the full Possession of her hereditary Dominions, with the Accession of the Electorate of *Bavaria*: We have likewise seen the *French* driven out of *Germany*; but all this was performed by her own Generals, and her own Armies. We contributed very little to it, we shewed very little Inclination to contribute to it, even after a Victory, which as I observed before, was forced upon us by the *French*. Your Lordship cannot therefore wonder that your Countrymen are desirous of knowing how this fell out, how it came to pass, that with so much Trouble, and at so great an Expence, we drew together a great Army, two thirds of it in our own Pay, marched them first into the Heart of *Germany*, marched them afterwards to the Frontiers of *France*, and then——marched them into Winter Quarters. Is this a new or an old Way of making War? has it gained us any Allies, has it acquired us any Reputation? has it answered our End? has it answered the Peoples Expectations? has it answered the mighty Expence to which the Nation has been put?

Your

Your Lordship is the best Judge, your Lordship can best account for this, and all the World knows that upon your Lordship's Account the People can depend. If this Campaign has really had either in the whole, or in part, the Effect which we expected from it, if it has raised the Power or Credit of the House of *Austria*, if it has fixed the *Dutch* effectually in our Interest, if it has turned the Scale in *Germany*, if it has opened the Eyes of the Diet of the Empire, if it has taught the Emperor to know his own Interest, if it has detached *Prussia* from selfish Views, and fixed the Court of *Dresden* firm to the common Cause, we may expect the Mouth of Opposition to be closed, and that all Parties will occur in joyfully accepting a safe and honourable Peace, or in carrying on, if that appears to be necessary, a just and glorious War? But at present, my Lord, we are quite in the Dark; we, I mean the People in general, know not what we have been doing, what is already done, or what remains to be done; we know not for what we are to make War, or what would content us in a Peace; we know not well who are our Enemies; and we know much less who are our Friends. In this Situation, the best Lights we can expect are from your Lordship, who we know cannot either be deceived yourself, or ever harbour a Thought of deceiving your Countrymen. I am,

My LORD,

With unfeigned Respect and Esteem,

Your LORDSHIP's real Admirer,

And faithful humble Servant.

